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CYPRUS: MUST THE KILLINGS

CONTINUE?

SINCE the Cyprus troubles began in 1954 there have been innumerable conferences, plans and suggestions for a solution. Despite all these, there has been no real change in the situation. EXCEPT that many people have died, many have been injured, and there has grown up a terrible bitterness between British, Greeks and Turks.

This is what has actually happened in Cyprus during the last few years:

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1954

The UN General Assembly refused to consider the Greek demand for Enosis. (A new demand for Enosis was sparked off by Mr. Henry Hopkinson, the Minister of State at the Colonial Office, who said that the Cypriots would never get the right of self-determination.) The result of this refusal was an outbreak of rioting, the most serious for many years.

MAY, 1955

"The prospects for Cyprus are good," said Mr. Henry Hopkinson. "While H.M. Government fully understands and recognises the emotional attraction of many Greek Cypriots towards Greece, it adheres to its view that British control must be maintained unimpaired during this period of world tension."

JUNE-JULY, 1955

A series of hand grenade attacks occurred. In Nicosia a bomb explosion killed a civilian and seriously injured two policemen and two civilians.

On June 23 five Cypriot youths, members of the Eoka organisation, were found guilty of plotting to overthrow the Government by armed force and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to nine years.

On July 15 an emergency law gave the Governor power to detain "any person who he is satisfied belonged to, or is a member of, an organisation which has been responsible for acts of violence directed at the overthrow of the Government."

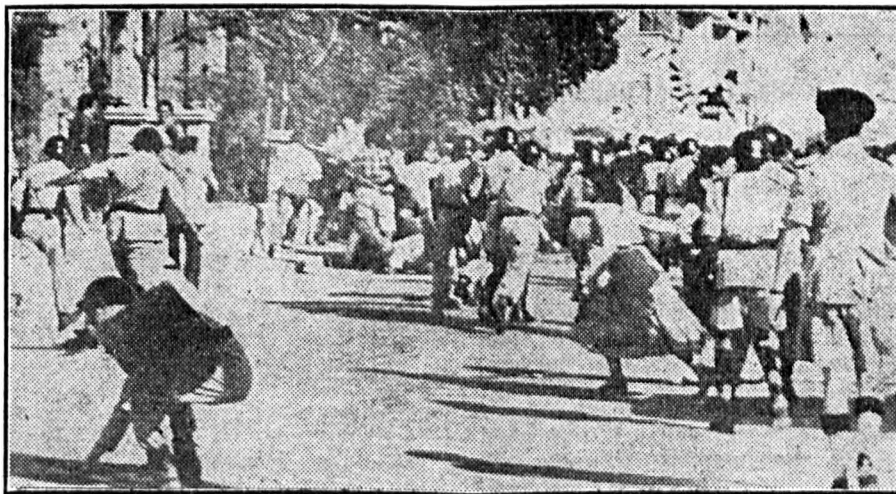
AUGUST, 1955

On the occasion of a conference in London between Britain, Greece and Turkey, Dr. Sazil Kuchuk, leader of the Turkish community in Cyprus, said: "A handful of ambitious adventurers in Cyprus, using Hitlerite methods of propaganda, have concocted a so-called 'Cyprus question'..."

SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER, 1955

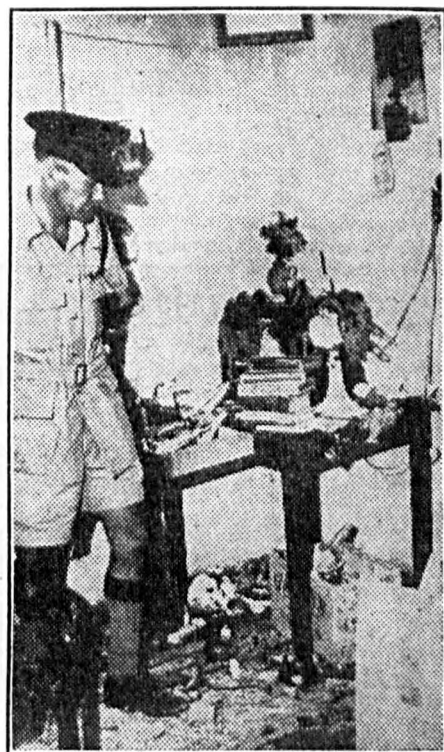
The London Conference was suspended. British troops in the island were reinforced by 1,500 Commandos and other troops. Eoka continued to attack British military bases. On Sept. 9 leaflets announced that a Turkish organisation called Volkan would take immediate reprisals against EOKA if there were any attacks on Turks.

Field-Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed Governor. The official announcement said: "In view of the importance of the island as a base for the discharge of H.M. Government's obligations as a member of the North Atlantic alliance, and having regard to the need for concerted



Above left: events in Nicosia, Cyprus, in October last year

right: the scene following the explosion in a house after an accident during the making of bombs.



action by all security forces in the island in order to maintain internal law and order, they have decided that in present circumstances the Governorship should be held by a high-ranking service officer."

Eoka continued its activities. Riots occurred, police and British troops were shot and British property attacked. On October a British soldier died; he was the first of many.

The British Garrison was further reinforced. This brought the total of British troops in the island to 12,000.

NOVEMBER-FEBRUARY, 1955-6

The activities of both British troops and Eoka were stepped up. There were more deaths among both British and Greeks.

On November 27 a state of emergency was declared. The unlawful use of firearms, bombs or ammunition became punishable by death. In addition communities whose inhabitants engaged in unlawful activities became liable to collective punishment such as the imposition of fines, the closing of shops and the confiscation of property; youths under the age of eighteen who engaged in such activities became liable to whipping.

In the Commons Mr. Macmillan said it would be a grave mistake to underestimate Turkish feeling, "a mistake which might well prove fatal to Greece, Turkey and NATO, as well as to ourselves and to the peace of the world."

MARCH-JUNE, 1956

More killings, riots and disturbances. Discussions with Archbishop Makarios broke down. He was accused of being in contact with Eoka and, with the Bishop of Kyrenia, was deported to the Seychelles.

A British civil engineer was shot dead; a collective fine of £1,500 was imposed on the town of Phrenaros; a British soldier was killed in an ambush; a new kind of collective punishment was imposed on Nicosia, every shop, restaurant, bar, club, cafe, cabaret, cinema and other places of entertainment owned by a Greek Cypriot being

ordered to close for one week. The Times reported that 90 per cent of the city's establishments would be affected by the compulsory closure, and that the financial loss to the owners "must be reckoned in many thousands of pounds." Two Greek Cypriot members of Eoka were executed for killing a Greek Cypriot policeman and for wounding a British businessman.

JUNE-SEPTEMBER, 1956

A Greek Cypriot aged 18 was sentenced to death for throwing a bomb; a British police sergeant was shot dead; a British assistant police superintendent was fined £25 for causing bodily harm to three Greek Cypriots whom he had been interrogating.

In the Commons Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that the Government had accepted self-determination, but the application of the principle was another matter.

APRIL-JUNE, 1957

A White Paper denied allegations of brutality on the part of British forces. A "committee of human rights" consisting of Nicosian lawyers said that the White Paper was "an inaccurate picture."

The Turkish Prime Minister called for the partition of Cyprus. Eoka offered to suspend activities if Archbishop Makarios was released. The British Government released Archbishop Makarios. Archbishop Makarios arrived in Greece.

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1957

Sir Hugh Foot was appointed Governor of Cyprus in place of Sir John Harding. Eoka resumed its activities. 100 people were injured and 150 arrests were made in the general strike which coincided with the opening of another UN debate.

JANUARY-JUNE, 1958

The first large scale anti-British riots by the Turks took place. Thousands of Turkish youths hurled stones and bottles at British troops, and carried such slogans as "Out with Governor Foot" and "Long live Harding."

Eoka started a campaign against left wing

Cypriots, who called a protest strike in reply.

A bomb was thrown at the Turkish information office in Nicosia. Immediately large numbers of Turkish youths armed with sticks, cudgels, iron bars and other weapons appeared on the streets and attacked Greek premises, setting fire to shops and a cigarette factory and smashing windows.

JULY-NOVEMBER, 1958

Ninety-seven Greeks and Turks were killed in communal rioting. In July 1,200 Greeks and 50 Turks were arrested.

A British soldier was shot in the back; four members of Eoka were killed in a pitched battle; a British woman (Mrs. Cutcliffe) was killed; 650 Greeks were arrested as a result of Mrs. Cutcliffe's murder, 250 of them received injuries in the course of the arrest and three died; British civilians were armed by the new director of military operations in the island, General Darling.

Mrs. Barbara Castle criticised British troops in the island and was repudiated by the Labour Party. General Darling said: "The only Eoka terrorists I am interested in are dead ones, not live ones."

DECEMBER, 1958

There is a growing concern in Britain about the developments in Cyprus. Evidence of this is given by a meeting that the Movement for Colonial Freedom are calling for Dec. 11 (details of the meeting are given on page 5) and by the deputation the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee is sending to the Colonial Secretary. The deputation will call upon the Government for a change of spirit and action by (1) abandoning the seven-year plan; (2) agreeing to negotiate with the Cypriots, Greeks and Turks, preferably with a neutral mediator; and (3) proposing to withdraw all troops from Cyprus.

In a letter to the Manchester Guardian on Wednesday, several distinguished film directors, theatre producers and writers urged that Cyprus be handed over to U.N. "lock, stock, and barrel."

TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—II

THIRD WAY IN INDUSTRY

By Margaret Tims

IS there a "third way" to peace in industry, a way leading neither to capitalism nor Communism but to self-governing community enterprise founded on a union of capital and labour?

Ernest Bader, Chairman of Scott Bader & Co., Ltd., and founder of the Scott Bader Commonwealth, Ltd., a community organisation within the industrial company, believes that there is. He believes also that this third way is practicable, and he has been putting it into practice in varying forms for nearly 40 years.

This Swiss-born Quaker started his business in East London in 1920 as importer and then manufacturer of chemicals for the paint industry. In 1940 the factory was bombed and the firm acquired Woollaston Hall, near Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, an 18th-century house standing in 44 acres. Mr. Bader and his wife still live in one wing of the house, which now accommodates the clerical and administrative departments.

An attempt to establish closer relations with the staff was made in 1945 with the formation of the Scott Bader Fellowship. The response was not encouraging, and Mr. Bader came to the conclusion that his own

lack of faith was the cause. It was necessary to make a more fundamental change in the company's organisation: to move forward from profit-sharing to common ownership.

And so in 1951 the Scott Bader Commonwealth, Ltd., was formally constituted, with a capital of £50,000 divided into 100,000 ten shilling shares. Of these 90 per cent belong to the Commonwealth and 10 per cent to the founder shareholders, all of whom are members of the firm. No dividends are paid to any individual.

In financial policy the founder-members have power of veto, on an auditor's certificate, but have never had to use it. Mr. Bader regards this financial control as a trust, to be relinquished when the time is ripe.

The profit-sharing side of the business is run on the following ratio: 60 per cent minimum retained for consolidation, taxation and reserves; 20 per cent maximum staff bonus; 20 per cent maximum distri-

buted for charitable objects. The percentage of profits not ploughed back is always divided *equally* between staff and charities. Gifts in recent years have included £1,000 to St. Faith's interracial farm in Rhodesia and donations to UNICEF, Pestalozzi children's village, and organisations for refugees, spastics and the blind.

It is the rule that in slack times an all-round reduction in salary shall be made rather than reduction of staff, and cuts are made from the top downwards: two years ago the management staff accepted a reduction in salary at a time when the factory workers were awarded an increase by their union. The workers are in any case paid above the union rate, and wages are reviewed annually according to the cost of living. Overtime is only worked when absolutely necessary.

Differentials are not excessive, and there is no member of the firm, from the Chairman down, who reaches a salary of £2,000.

Membership

OF the firm's 200 employees, 120 now belong to the Commonwealth, for which they are eligible after two years' service. Membership confers both advantages and responsibilities: greater security of employment, additional sick benefits, and the obligation to do a certain amount of voluntary social work outside the company. The amount specified is very small: eight hours in the year.

In practice, however, members regularly visit old-age pensioners in the village, delivering weekly food parcels and bags of firewood which they have chopped themselves, and providing a Christmas party and summer outing.

This scheme has brought friendship as well as material comfort to many old people.

Mr. Godric Bader, Managing Director, would not claim that all employees in the firm share the ideals of its founders. They are not subject to any religious or political "screening," although the Christian pacifist basis of the organisation is made clear to applicants, all of whom are sent a copy of the staff handbook which sets out the democratic structure and working of the company.

Only nine of the staff belong to the Society of Friends, including the Company Secretary, John Leyland, and Personnel Officer Gwendolin Veal. But those who do come tend to stay—and to bring their relatives. Staff turnover is very small: in six years only four have left because of dissatisfaction; four more were made redundant, but not before they had found other jobs.

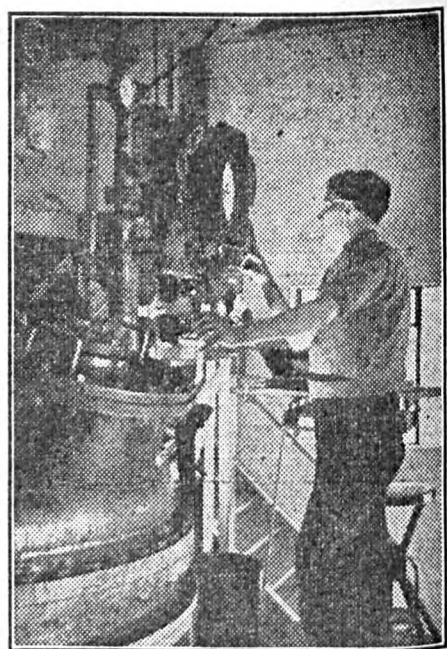
A striking feature of the staff is its youth: the business and its workers are growing up together. Most employees, including senior members, are under 40, the average age being the early 30s. A few long-standing members came with the firm from London.

The stores manager, Mr. W. A. Cross, holds the record with 30 years' service; and he still looks very far from retiring. After him comes Miss B. Turner, assistant company secretary. Then, a long way behind, there is Geoffrey Green, a local boy who came straight from school 18 years ago; now he is in charge of the buying office.

Promotion

PROMOTION is from the ranks, and a foreman is automatically on the management committee. Opportunities are limited only by the size of the company; and in this particular industry output could be doubled with very little increase in staff. This high concentration makes the business particularly suitable for the co-ownership experiment. Mr. Godric Bader agreed that it would be very much more difficult to apply in, for instance, the boot and shoe industry that is the mainstay of the rest of Northamptonshire.

Progress depends on research and on keeping a little ahead of the larger competitor. The firm introduced polyester resins into this country from the USA, and now exports them to 70 countries.



At work in the Polymer Emulsion plant in the Scott Bader Commonwealth.

Typical of the spirit at Scott Bader's is Ted Nichols, secretary of the Commonwealth since its foundation. He came to the firm comparatively late in life and finds a striking difference in atmosphere from the usual commercial one. He is a laboratory engineer, who occupies only a small and unobtrusive corner of the works; but his pride in the whole undertaking is unmistakable.

He has worked hard to make the Commonwealth a living reality to his fellow-members, and at last, he says, after ten years, "we are getting somewhere," with increased awareness, questioning and participation by workers of all grades.

Indeed, one comes away from Scott Bader's, "the factory in a garden" (and a market-garden, too, which supplies the canteen with vegetables), with an impression of order, cleanliness and efficiency; of eagerness, independence and friendly co-operation. There is no apparent hierarchy, no sense of "us" and "them."

They are all in it together, like the mysterious blends of chemicals that simmer happily in their giant cauldrons. And if a certain pungent odour is inseparable from this process, after a time, as they say, "you don't notice it." It becomes as natural as the fellowship.

Transformation

JUST as peace in industry depends on right human relations between man and man, so does world peace. But a change of heart is not enough. As Ernest Bader has written in an article in "Works Management," May, 1957:

"There must be a change in objective arrangements and institutions. We must work on the environment, on the transformation of our industrial organisations and not merely on the hearts of men. To think otherwise is to suppose that flowers can be raised in a desert or motor-cars run in a jungle."

The necessary steps towards such a transformation are laid down in the staff handbook and may be summarised as follows:

To conduct individual and corporate life in accordance with the demands of peace against the current of a society war-based between capitalism and Communism.

To consider to what extent violence resides in the demands we make upon the earth's resources and the available raw materials by reason of our self-indulgent existence.

To accept the principle of co-ownership in industry as an essential step towards a true Christian industrial and social order. This involves a self-divestment of privilege and power on the part of the present employers and shareholders, and on the part of the employees the acceptance of their full share responsibility for the policy, efficiency and general welfare of the undertaking.

To avoid participation in industrial strife and international war; and to refuse to take an active part in rearmament.

The acceptance of the above principles will call forth that individual discipline which is a first essential for the bringing in of a new society.

A search without compromise

ALAN LOVELL reviews

We Who Would Not Kill, by Jim Peck. Lyle Stuart, New York, \$3; London, Housmans, 18s. 6d.

"THE waggon moved across town.

The familiar streets looked different, maybe because we were no longer a part of them. A smooth looking girl glanced up as the waggon passed. I thought what a long time it

some of the projects and demonstrations Jim Peck has taken part in since 1945.

The passage I have quoted gives a good impression of the quality of "We Who Would Not Kill." It is written in the direct, vigorous style of the best kind of American journalism, and it is a style that is well suited to communicating Jim Peck's straightforward, uncompromising personality.

The blurb on the dustjacket of the book says, "Jim Peck leans not upon religion or political cause. He is an individual, unlabelled, guided on every step by his own inner convictions. His life is an uncompromising search for a better life for all men."

And for once a blurb is right.

There is no odour of sanctity or crankiness around Jim Peck like there is round so many pacifists. Jim Peck is an ordinary person who believes that some things are wrong and who is prepared to live in accordance with his beliefs.

Creative life in prison

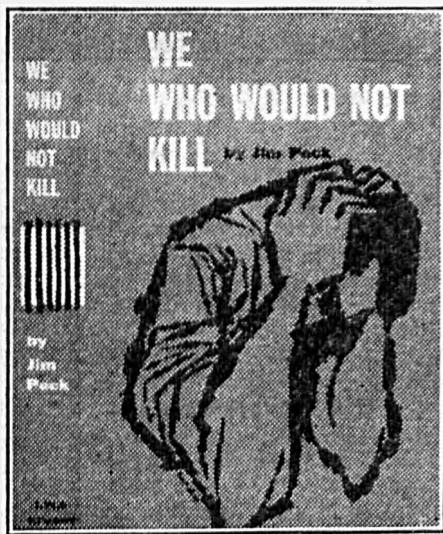
Prison made no difference to him. He made no compromise there either. One of the most exciting things I have read is the story of how the group of COs in Danbury prison managed to get segregated eating abolished. They remained on strike for 135 days until they won a total victory.

There is a very valuable lesson in this incident for all COs. Too many of us regard prison as something to be endured passively. Jim Peck shows how prison life can be just as positive and creative as life outside.

He has his shortcomings, of course. In the last section of the book he describes the post-war projects he has taken part in. He seems quite happy that these projects got publicity for the causes they were advocating. He does not stop to ask what the effect of this publicity was. When pacifists hit the headlines for parading in prison suits, do people admire them for their initiative or do they merely class them with the latest goings-on of Hollywood film stars?

Though the book is a straightforward account of Jim Peck's experiences, it raises other important questions for pacifists. Why, for instance, were the religious COs so passive and un-co-operative in prison? And need British pacifism have such an atmosphere of do-goodism connected with it, and might we be better off if we had a few more Jim Pecks among us?

Every British pacifist has a duty to read the book and answer these questions for himself.



would be without women, and I thought particularly of the girl I had been going with in the past year.

"She had come down to court to see me off. We had not been happy, but we had had some good times. She was often blue because she could not find the job she wanted, and I was depressed because I knew my time before going to jail was limited. Although she did not agree with my stand on the war she understood it."

This description of the journey to jail is from the opening pages of Jim Peck's story of his experiences in jail as a CO during World War II; the later chapters tell of

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King-Hall hits at 'deterrent' myth

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

WRITING in his news letter recently, Sir Stephen King-Hall expresses alarm at "the absolute and absurd confidence with which supporters of the nuclear deterrent assume that it is known for certain (his italics) that the deterrent is working and will always work."

Quoting a Times writer who had declared that "The one and only merit of the nuclear deterrent is that it does the job: it deters either side from a nuclear attack," Sir Stephen asks how on earth the writer can know this to be true.

"He is entitled to believe it to be true and he may be right. If he is wrong he will certainly be in no position to eat his dogmatic words!"

"People in responsible positions are fond of saying (as if it were proved beyond dispute) that the possession by the West of nuclear weapons has prevented the Russians from invading Western Europe. This is pure speculation unless proof exists which has never been produced."

Labour's new MP followed Schweitzer's advice

FRANK McMANUS, pacifist Labour candidate who won the by-election at Morecambe and Lonsdale last month, gave a 5.8 per cent swing to the Labour vote.

Describing the campaign in the Labour Peace Fellowship's Bulletin, he says that the Press described his election organisation as non-existent.

"Perhaps by doing our humble best, neither seeking nor dodging publicity, we effected something of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's aim:

"A new public opinion must be created privately and unobtrusively. The existing one is maintained by the Press, by propaganda, by organisation, and by financial and other influences which are at its disposal. This unnatural way of spreading ideas must be opposed by the natural one, which goes from man to man and relies solely on the truth of the thoughts and the hearer's receptiveness to new truth."

"Whether the question was provision for sickness and old age, aid to under-deve-

loped countries, or disarmament and nuclear war, the moral argument was properly given pride of place. I took care to speak on all these things at every meeting and was delighted to find audiences in 'comfortable' areas took great interest in broad international topics.

Against the H-bomb

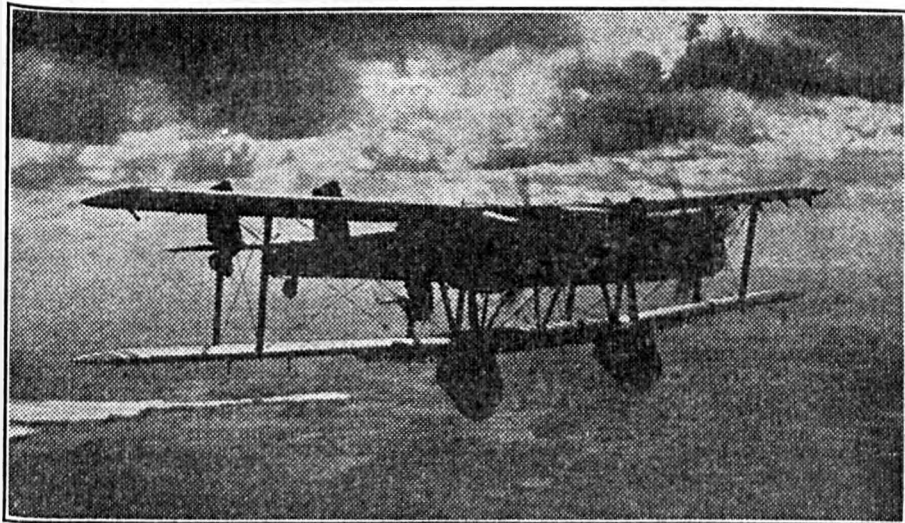
"About the H-bomb I simply said it is 25,000 times worse than the worst night's blitz on London, and we cannot even think of using it. At the bigger meetings I quoted the Bishop of Exeter's decisive argument:

"It is immoral and un-Christian to use the hydrogen bomb either offensively or even in retaliation after attack. The bomb is a weapon of indiscriminate destruction, and those who use it put themselves on the level of those who, in the days of the Old Testament, massacred their enemies and exterminated men, women and children, regarding themselves as doing the will of God. The H-bomb is destructive of God's natural creation. It could have no conceivable moral warrant, and it would be directed against the helpless."

Our only defence

"I went on to say that the Government was committed up to the hilt to the evil myth of deterrence, but Labour was not so committed. We would pull out of the arms race by genuinely stopping H-bomb tests, not as a move in power politics, but as an act of faith and hope which would command the moral leadership of the world and initiate the signing of a treaty of all-round disarmament. This is the only defence policy available to us.

"Most of this was received without question, but once or twice I had to agree that it involved superficial risks of totalitarian invasion."



"Prompt Retaliation—the most effective deterrent to aggression" was the caption to this photograph in the Illustrated London News in February, 1937.

'I've got a little list'



AND no doubt you have got one, too, for when you read this there will be 17 shopping days till Christmas. But there will be just over five weeks until January 7 when we close our books for the year.

If the £70 I asked for in the previous Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund Appeal comes in we will still have to raise an average of £50 a week to complete our purpose for 1958. We have done it before, and I feel confident that we can do it again with the help of generous friends to whom I make a personal appeal at Christmastime. But we must not leave it to those on my list to make up what remains of our total for the year.

I feel sure that you would not wish to be deprived of taking a share in what is the most necessary work in which anybody can be involved. Nor would I wish you to lose the opportunity of sharing in the joy and satisfaction of having reached our aim for another year.

This week, therefore, I appeal chiefly to all readers who have not sent any contribution to PPU Funds either by way of annual subscription or in answer to the Annual Appeal or the fortnightly appeal for HQ Fund.

Unlike Pooh Bah in the Mikado, I haven't got a little list of them. But YOU will know if your name would be on it, and if you do not send us something your contribution will be very much missed.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

On November 25 we had reached £970 out of £1,250, our aim for 1958. What the total will be on December 25 depends on YOU.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PACIFIST TALENT ON SHOW

A BRITISH conscientious objector has been awarded an Art Scholarship by the French Government. He is Bruce Tippet, whose abstract paintings are interesting a number of distinguished collectors.

An exhibition of his work opened at Lord's Gallery, 26, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, London, on Wednesday.

Included in the same exhibition are sculpture and drawings by John Wragg, 21-year-old student at the Royal College of Art, who had one of his works purchased recently by Charterhouse School.

Since many readers will want to know, I should add that neither of them are related to the two well-known contributors to Peace News of an older generation, Michael Tippet and Arthur Wragg.

Bruce Tippet comes from Boston, Lincs, and John Wragg from Yorkshire.

Archbishop and the bomb

PEACE NEWS reader Alec Lea, of Exeter, had a forceful letter on the Church and War published in the News Chronicle recently. He told the editor: "The case of Archbishop Makarios should be a valuable lesson for the Christian Church throughout the world. He condones murders in Cyprus on the ground that they are committed by patriots."

"The two Archbishops of the Church of England reluctantly condoned obliteration bombing during the war on the same ground, and favour the use by Christians of H-bombs in certain circumstances. . . ."

In Germany now

THE European Secretary of "Servas," the organisation which has a chain of contacts in many countries who will provide two days' free hospitality to young travellers using the "Servas" Work-Study-Travel scheme, is now operating from an address in Germany. Readers who want to

know more about this interesting group can write to the secretary, Miss Pat Knowles, Hamburg I Volkesdorf, Wulfsdorferweg 77, bei Hertling.

Pat Knowles, whose home is in Birmingham, went to Germany recently and is teaching in an international school.

PEACEMAKER'S HERITAGE No. 4

The right way

One thing is certain—that if I prepare over a long period of time to meet a certain difficult situation with violence, I shall in fact have no other means of meeting it when it arises but by violence. If there is to be the slightest possibility of performing the miracle of a beneficent non-violent action, then it is essential not to concentrate on its direct opposite.—Pierre Ceresole, founder of Service Civile Internationale.

'Banned' Congress to meet in London

BETWEEN two and three hundred delegates are expected to come to London in January for the European Congress against Nuclear Weapons.

Between 100 and 150 are expected to come from Germany. Observers have been invited from the American Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The delegates will be invited to adopt a Charter against Nuclear Weapons drawn up by Robert Jungk, author of "Brighter than a Thousand Suns."

On Sunday, Jan. 18, delegates will go to St. Paul's Cathedral for the morning service at which Canon L. John Collins will be the preacher.

In the afternoon some of the delegates will fly in a plane chartered by the Mayor of Frankfurt to take part in a Mass Meeting in St. Paul's Cathedral, Frankfurt.

The Congress was to have been held in Switzerland but was banned by the Swiss Government.

UP AND DOING "WISE MEN'S GIFTS"

WORRIED about what to get her—or him—for Christmas? We sympathise. If you buy clothes, they don't fit, perfume, it "doesn't suit," cigarettes, "some don't smoke." What is one to do?

Once again Peace News steps into the breach with a gift worthy of wise men, for wise men (or wise women)—the Christmas Gift Subscription scheme. Don't miss the boat because IT STARTS NEXT WEEK!

Next week is the special Christmas number of Peace News—another twelve-page multi-featured special, just the one for getting new people interested in the paper. And with it goes this offer. You can send Peace News for eight weeks to any friend or sympathiser you know for only 3s. and a Christmas card bearing your greeting is included free of charge with the first issue (December 12). OR, if you prefer it, you may obtain quantities of the Christmas issue at the rate of 3s. a dozen for sending out with your other gifts (or at 5s. a dozen with Christmas cards included).

You can do everybody a good turn by taking up this offer. Yourself because your friends will think the more of you for such an original and worthwhile gift. Your friends because they will have the benefit of news and commentary not to be found anywhere else, and Peace News, because Peace News DOES NEED MORE READERS.

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SIX MONTHS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE not to sympathise with the two million people of West Berlin.

Their doubts and fears will grow more acute during the bluffing and manoeuvring that will inevitably take place in the next six months—the period the Russian Government proposes for the settlement of this question.

For thirteen years the life of Berlin has continued in its present abnormal circumstances and the Western Powers apparently have foreseen no way short of war to end this situation. Neither Power bloc could have taken seriously their sole proposal: the reunification of Germany on the basis of free elections, with all Germans then deciding their future international alignment in the power struggle.

As the population of West Germany outnumbers that of East Germany by nearly three to one, the Western Powers could assume that a reunited Germany would associate with NATO and extend the Western bloc frontier to the borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Russian Government, of course, would no more accept such a proposal than would the Western Powers accept it if the position were reversed.

★ ★

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT'S present action is very simple.

Mr. Khrushchov has in effect given the Western Powers six months to decide whether or not Chancellor Adenauer and his Christian Democrats, with US support, are to settle the fate of Europe.

Now the Rapacki proposals are ten months old. They follow the possibilities canvassed during the 1955 "Summit" talks at Geneva as a means to the relaxation of international tension. At Geneva Sir Anthony Eden suggested that a demilitarised zone would usefully test methods for international control of disarmament.

No attempt was made after 1955 to develop this idea until Mr. Rapacki put forward his plan. Similarly, the ten months since the advancement of the Rapacki proposals have seen a deliberate effort to evade their discussion.

This is because Dr. Adenauer much prefers a powerful armed Germany to a united Germany. As he cannot have both he is prepared to sacrifice German unity for German power.

Similarly, Mr. Dulles and General Norstadt may desire a peaceful world, but they stand even more emphatically for a powerful NATO, which requires the adherence of a powerful Germany.

NATO has become an end in itself; if a relaxation of tension in Europe threatens NATO's future, it is the relaxation of tension that they would sacrifice.

★ ★

THE COMING SIX MONTHS, therefore, will see the Western Powers and the West German Government discussing Germany's future place in Europe.

Mr. Khrushchov's memorandum is a challenge to the West to pursue Dr. Adenauer's policy by force, with the minimum price for its avoidance a West German recognition of the East German Government. The memorandum also offers, however, the possibility of discussing terms for German reunification on a basis that should make possible a mutually acceptable settlement.

Even on the basis of an agreement for free elections (which is, of course, highly desirable) there must be the necessity for prior consultation between the East and West German Governments, if only for the safeguarding of the different vested interests developed by their respective economic arrangements; and Mr. Khrushchov's suggestion of a German federation leaving the different social bases of the two areas provides at least a basis for discussion.

★ ★

THE EAST EUROPEAN POWERS, both in this and in the Rapacki proposals, are showing much more flexibility in their approach to discussions.

Even the US Government will find it difficult to let the possibilities that are offered go by default.

The effects of Mr. Khrushchov's present action will go far beyond the settlement of the future status of Berlin, and the first half of 1959 will probably provide the main outline of the future disposition of the Powers in Europe.

The coming months could bring a reduction in fear for the people of Berlin and the first important possibility of more liberal regimes for some of the East European Russian satellites.

If no such attempt is made it will not be out of regard for East European liberty, but out of deference to the West German Government's desire for military power.

Arms race

LAST week-end the long-awaited and probably final chapter of the race to annihilation opened: the distance barrier was thrown down. The impending conquest of outer space for military purposes will merely intensify this threat to all the earth's surface.

The United States Government "successfully" fired its Atlas inter-continental ballistic missile, capable of carrying a hydrogen warhead, over its full range of some 6,300 miles. The following day the new Russian nuclear-powered bomber, which is expected to be able to fly round the world non-stop without refuelling, was announced.

An editorial in the US magazine "Aviation Week," which gave details of the Russian super-bomber, reported that the prototype came as a "sickening shock" to Americans working on a similar project.

This reaction, alarmingly widespread in America after the launching of the first Russian sputnik, demonstrates the terrible limitations that a commitment to military assumptions puts upon one's thinking. Once the race is on there is "no alternative" but response in kind. More missiles demand more missiles: more devastating explosives, yet greater destructive powers. It is a road leading to only one destination: it has no side-turnings.

If the utterly impracticable nature of the preparations is clear to increasing numbers of people, it has its ludicrous side as well. The greatest military systems the world has ever seen are established, enlarged, revised and perfected—all in the name of Christianity or world socialism! The meek, the humble and the loving prepare to face in armageddon the professing champions of brotherhood, co-operation and progress!

It is clear that new and vigorous leadership is required, not to speed up rocket production and entrench the cold war, but to draw us towards a fresh realisation of what it means to be a human being.

New strategy

REPORTS indicate that last week's inter-continental missile struck within 30 miles of its target, which is quite accurate enough for the general retaliation for which it is designed. Here is the technical innovation that can herald the political revolution.

When these long-range missiles are mass-produced off the assembly lines next summer the Pentagon will face strong incentives to abandon its emphasis upon bases nearer the Russian bloc—in Europe and even the Middle East—and thus reduce involvement in many complex problems concerning the former major Powers.

Since the US Government knows very well that there is now no dependable defence except retaliation, there is a strong argument for keeping down the number of missile bases in the US itself. These considerations point to the development of US military establishments as launching bases in the Pacific and the southern hemisphere, and further penetration into the vast areas of Asia and Africa.

It is into lands such as these, some controlled by a reactionary grouping with a narrow basis of power, others emerging from their Western tutelage, nearly all impoverished and with rapidly expanding populations, that military penetration with economic bribes is a relatively simple matter. Washington already has considerable experience in it.

But militarism is a force of reaction, and these are the very areas of the globe which are witnessing the most profound revolution of our time. The scene is set for collision. It is difficult to see how the US can maintain its military position in the world without becoming an increasingly unpopular imperial Power. To those who value the principles which underlie the spirit of Western liberalism and the Judeo-Christian tradition, this is the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century.

Conservative document

"THE Future Labour Offers You," the Labour Party's statement of its policy in a popular form, has been well received. Most of the newspapers have commented on its attractive appearance and the intelligent way in which the policies are presented.

If this proves anything, it proves that the newspapers are as much out of touch with their audience as the Labour Party is. The pamphlet is the kind of production that might be found in the offices of a large advertising firm. When you have said that the pamphlet is glossy, you have said nearly everything that needs to be said. Apart from the glossiness, it is presented in a very conservative manner.

The writing in the pamphlet is a disastrous failure; it is a good second to the Queen's speech for dullness. The basic pattern for all the sections is to begin with a cliché like "The key to the success of the next Labour Government is our plan for turning Tory stagnation into Socialist expansion," and then to continue with a list of "We shall . . ." etc.

The woolliness of the pamphlet is revealed by the last illustration which is of the sun setting on the coast. What it is supposed to symbolise is not too clear, but we presume that it was meant to raise a feeling of hope in the reader. The Labour Party's policy is full of vague symbols of this kind which play

on worth while sentiments without giving them any precise meaning.

The design of the pamphlet reflects the design of the policy in it. All the old ideas are around, but they are given a gloss by phrases like "the age of the Sputnik" or how Labour understands the future so much better than the Tories.

The policies have been well publicised, so there is no need for a detailed comment on them. Two things in the document, however, worry us. We wonder why it was necessary to point out that the Labour Party Conference has rejected motions for unilateral nuclear disarmament by large majorities for the last two years. Did the Labour Party feel it necessary to make people aware that they are as reliable on defence as the Tories?

We also wonder why the only reference to Cyprus in the document restricts itself to pointing out the futility of the Conservative Government's policy.

The new French assembly

OF the 537 deputies in the old French Assembly only 131 have been returned to the new. The remainder are "new men." The SFIO (French Socialist party) representation has been reduced from 91 to 40 and there can be little regret about that, for it was the SFIO under M. Mollet which has to bear the major responsibility for the suppression of criticism and the covering up of abuses, including the resort to torture in Algeria, that created the psychological climate that made possible the more menacing aspect of the insurrection of May 13. It is in accord with the fitness of things that M. Lacoste has been rejected, and it may be hoped that his departure will prove final.

M. Soustelle's UNR, with 188 deputies, will at the outset dominate the Assembly, and for the less liberal aspects of its policy it will have the support of some 132 deputies to its "right." Apart from the fact, however, that it stands, with the right, for the "integration" of Algeria with France, little is known about its policy. Many of those who voted for it really decided to give a blank cheque to General de Gaulle, and the Party combines a considerable variety of political tendencies. It may confidently be expected that there will be policy struggles and clashes within the framework of the UNR, with possible splits to come.

It is to be presumed that officially "integration" stands for the policy set forth by General de Gaulle in his speech at Constantine, which would involve a generous economic programme aimed at giving the Algerians within a measurable period a standard of living comparable with that of the French. It is very doubtful whether such a programme is realisable at all. What is beyond doubt is that the French right-wing supporters of the Algerian "ultras" (both in and out of the UNR) will never agree to the heavy sacrifices that would be necessary.

Geneva

THE mission of the crew members of the Golden Rule and Phoenix to demonstrate their concern about nuclear tests to the Conference on the ending of the tests at Geneva is an imaginative action.

However, at the meeting with the crew in London on Sunday evening, one questioner raised an important issue. Did the delegation, she asked, expect the Conference to achieve anything; would it not be wiser to aim at getting one Government to make a unilateral suspension—particularly as, if an action is immoral, we should not wait on an agreement before stopping it.

The question is a challenge to pacifists since the principle involved is central to pacifist thought. We believe that pacifists should concentrate on getting the Government to take unilateral action. This does not mean we abandon all hope of the conventional means of negotiation—only dogmatic anarchists argue that all conferences are inevitably doomed.

Pacifists should work on both levels. We should try to get as much out of conferences as possible; in the case of the Conference on the ending of the tests, a suspension of testing for only six months would be a gain for us all. At the same time we can continue to state our conviction that unilateral action is the most effective method of getting genuine solutions.

If conferences end without any agreement, our efforts will not have been wasted. By focussing attention on them other people may come to question their value, whereas if they are ignored nobody will bother to draw any conclusions from a failure.

This consideration is particularly relevant to the Conference on tests. All the elements for an agreement are there; people are aware of the harm they do; and it is possible to set up a control system to supervise any agreement. In an imperfect world, the men in Geneva have nearly perfect conditions for negotiations. There can be no excuse for failure.

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Investigation project

I WISH to bring to the notice of your readers our Political Investigation Project (previously known as "Voters' Veto"). This is a scheme sponsored by the London Students' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and designed to establish a statistical correlation between the voting habits of the electorate and their views on nuclear disarmament. In a high-pressure canvass, preferably in a marginal constituency, voters will, amongst other things, be asked how they voted at the last election, their views on nuclear disarmament, and how they intend to vote at the next election.

A powerful propaganda weapon will be in our hands if more than the marginal number of electors are changing their views because of the nuclear disarmament issue.

We believe that nuclear disarmament can only be achieved through the actions of the next Government, which must therefore consist of members who are favourably inclined to such a policy. For this reason, we believe all activity must be directed at the electorate, and at constituency level. The Campaign must concentrate on areas where nuclear disarmament is a factor in voting behaviour, and expose the inadequacies of the policies of the parliamentary candidates.

A pilot Political Investigation Project will be run in a marginal London constituency in the near future, and we need a large number of volunteers to help in the work of canvassing about 40,000 voters.

Would anyone interested in helping us in this work please write to me in the first instance.—MICHAEL H. CRAFT, London Students Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 77d Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.1.

Action at missile base

THERE is to be a strong protest demonstration on Saturday, December 6, at the Thor Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile Base at North Pickenham, near Swaffham, Norfolk.

There will be a public meeting in Swaffham at 12 noon, followed by a march from Swaffham at 1.0 p.m. arriving at the base

at 2.0 p.m. A group of volunteers will then undertake non-violent obstruction at the base, whilst those in sympathy will picket the base for an hour.

There will be a final briefing session for volunteers to take part in the obstruction at 11.0 a.m. at the Pedlars Hall Cafe, Swaffham.

For further information please contact the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4, telephone STAmford Hill 7062.

Will sympathisers please send telegrams to the Prime Minister on December 6 deploing the rocket sites and supporting the demonstrators. We should be glad to know if telegrams have been sent, so please also send a postcard to the Direct Action Committee office.—PAT ARROWSMITH, APRIL CARTER.

Brighton clergy

IN fairness to the clergy of Brighton it should be made clear in extension of your report on November 14 that the Brighton group of the CND did not send a copy of the circular asking ministers where they stood on the question of the H-bomb to three who are sponsoring the local campaign and whose attitude is therefore beyond question.

These are a Methodist, a Unitarian and a Jewish minister. Neither was the letter sent to the Society of Friends, who are well represented on the local committee and were among the founders and who continue to help in many ways, including lending their premises on very many occasions without any payment.

While this increases the number of clergy or churches who have signified their support for opposition to the H-bomb by 50 per cent, the fact remains that of the 200 odd clergy in the Brighton district 94 per cent did not bother or were not willing to declare where they stand on this issue.—ALAN STALEY, 39 St. Keyna Avenue, Hove 3.

Pacifists and Labour

ONE hears much from the Labour Peace Fellowship of how great pacifist influence is in the Labour Party, especially in constituency parties. If this is true, why is it that the constituency parties themselves always elect non-pacifists to the Labour Party Executive, despite the availability of men of the calibre of Victor Yates and Emrys Hughes?

Inside the Parliamentary Labour Party the same is true. One looks vainly for successful pacifists. On the contrary, Aneurin Bevan, having moved nearer Tory foreign policy and clad himself in nuclear weapons, now tops (for the first time) the election for the Labour "Shadow Cabinet." Dick Sheppard used to say a bomb labelled "With love from the League of Nations" did as much damage as one marked "Go to Hell from Hitler." Labour H-bombs are not morally superior to those of Macmillan, Khrushchov, Dulles or (when ready) De Gaulle.—RONALD S. MALLONE, 141 Woolacombe Road, S.E.3.

'Operation hatred'

WHAT exactly is Sybil Morrison trying to say in her extraordinary outburst "Operation Hatred" in last week's issue? What is the point of it, and what good can it possibly do to furthering the pacifist

cause? It seems to be just another example of the bitter, militant criticism which Peace News often directs at persons and organisations who differ from its pacifist position.

Many pacifists, myself included, deplore this persistent tone in Peace News and are not inclined to support the paper. May we not try to realise, as pacifists, that Montgomery, Eisenhower, and other military men were attempting, in the last war, to do what they sincerely believed to be right from a Christian standpoint. That we totally disagree with them does not mean that they cannot claim to be considered human and Christian.

Sybil Morrison says of Montgomery's memoirs: "There is little in these tales to cause the reader any feeling of respect for the writer." I cannot entirely agree. On reading Montgomery one feels an intensified hatred of war, but not a lack of respect for a soldier, who holds as sincere Christian beliefs as many pacifists. Is Peace News never to attempt to meet other people half way?

If Peace News tried to win military minds and governments over to a pacifist viewpoint, or even part way there, instead of pouring spite on them, it would do more to help and spread the pacifist cause in this country.

Sybil Morrison's article was called "Operation Hatred"; the hatred, to my mind, seems to come from her pen, and it is greatly to be regretted.—IAN A. HYDE, 22 Bedford Place, London, W.C.1.

Marie Stopes

I AM writing a book about the character, life and struggles of the late Dr. Marie Stopes. Any help from your readers in the form of letters, reminiscences, press cuttings or any other relevant information would be most gratefully received.

Any items lent will be treated most carefully and returned promptly and may be sent to me either at the address below or care of my publishers, Barrie Books, Ltd., 3-4 Clements Inn, London, W.C.2.—ELIZABETH SMART, 9 Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2.

French COs need envelopes

Christmas Greeting cards to French COs in gaol must be sent in envelopes (which may be left unsealed). Greetings sent on postcards not enclosed in envelopes will not be delivered.

Taddee Prokowiec, address at 53 rue de Raucourt, Masmy (Nord), France, was correctly given in Peace News last week, but unfortunately a misplaced line appeared in the centre of the address.

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Write for further information to Alan Litherland, 16 Harlech Rd., Liverpool 23.

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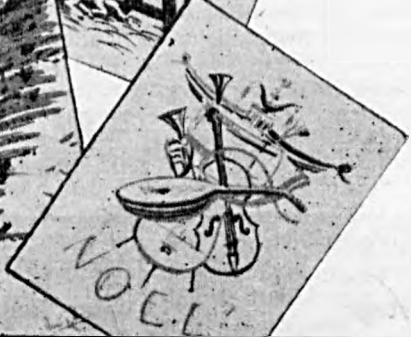
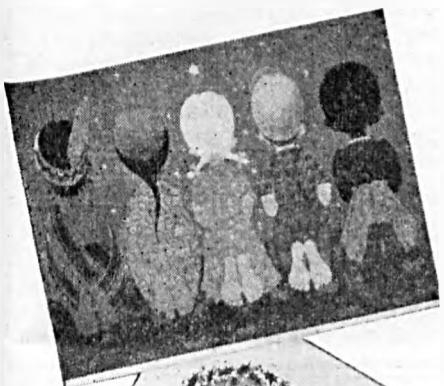
THIS year's selection is probably the best ever," is the verdict of the "British Weekly" on Endsleigh Christmas Cards. Dedicated to the theme "Peace on Earth" the cards are sold to raise funds for Peace News.

Already a first printing of 20,000 of the card at the top of this picture has been exhausted. A further supply will be available this week-end. Despite the biggest ever demand for these cards the improved dispatching arrangements are making it possible for orders to be sent off within about 24 hours of their receipt.

All Souls', Langham Place, the "B.B.C. Church" is using an Endsleigh Card for this year's Christmas Card

and many organisations are using them to assist their own fund-raising efforts, among them International Voluntary Service, the Movement for Colonial Freedom and a number of Esperanto organisations.

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The strategy of Christian pacifism

LET me stress this word Christian as I introduce this subject. It is my strong belief that only one institution in this modern world will prove itself able to abolish war, and that is the Christian Church.

At the present moment I will grant you that the Church does not look very promising in that matter. But what is even more evident is that statesmanship and governments and politicians are even less promising. In fact, judging by recent history, they seem to be utterly devoid of the capacity for such promise. Whereas the Christian Church is at least subject to a most powerful inner constraint to such fulfilment of herself, however hard may be the crust of conventional tradition and official timidity that holds down that inner constraint for the time being.

Having spent the last 18 years preaching every week to considerable audiences all over this country, and often over wide areas of USA and Canada, on this subject I know what a vast Will to Peace exists in the Christian public. Two things inhibit that will from action. One is the chronic habit of leaning on their respective governments in the wistful hope of securing peace. Secondly, the absence of a feasible clear plan around which Christians can mobilise their united strength.

Their hope in governments has been disappointed by the various shocks of recent history plus the continuous economic strain of an armaments race which is always reaching deadlock and is getting the nations slowly nearer to war.

Moral spearhead

The only way open still is the possibility of a plan provided by the Church, for the Church, to be operated by the Church as a spearhead of moral leadership on a scale big enough to draw the multitude of the unchurched, both in Christendom and beyond, into active co-operation.

That looks a huge and impossible task, but it is not so big, or so intrinsically impossible as the task pacifism so cheerfully attempts, namely the conversion of both Church and world to personal pacifism in time to prevent a nuclear war.

I write as a convinced pacifist of 43 years incessant witness on behalf of pacifism. Let there be no doubt of my loyalty on that score. I see, however, no more prospect of preventing a third world war, "war of no return," on that policy of individual conversion to pure pacifism than I see any hope of world salvation on Billy Graham's policy of purely personal Christian conversion.

Both policies ignore the tremendous influence of established institutions of society upon the behaviour of individuals. Man does not live merely by idea but also by institution. In this connection get from your local library Benjamin Kidd's "Science of Power" and read it.

The world-wide war institution must be faced by another world-wide institution of an opposing character capable of drawing into itself the dynamic of human decision on a world scale.

Jesus saw this very clearly when He called for new bottles for new wine.

But just as the churches refused to see

By Rev. A. D. Belden, D.D.

The author is editor of *Christus Victor* and Founder Director of the Pax Christi League.

this imperative demand for adding the evangelism of the institution to its evangelism of persons, neither do the pacifist societies realise sufficiently the necessity of adding the evangelism of the corporate body of the Church to appeals for personal Christian pacifism, if war is to be, in fact, first prevented, and then abolished.

This is the argument of the "Pax Christi Plan," which I have advocated for the last 16 years, but to which pacifist leadership seems to have been, in the main, indifferent. When I wrote this book, of which some 11,000 copies have been sold, I thought that my fellow ministers in all the churches, and certainly pacifist leaders, would tumble over themselves, at least, to attempt such a plan. Instead 16 precious years have produced little result.

New approach

Pax Christi was designed to be the crowning point of the policy of denominational pacifist groups in the launching of which I took the initiative in the 20's, as also later I took it in the formation of the National Council of such groups. This Council has since been abolished. The lustiest child of that policy, the Methodist Peace Fellowship, came, a few years ago, quite near to adopting the "Pax Christi Plan." The effort, however, met with unexpected resistance, the character of which was never divulged to me, and so petered out, although upon what argument I was never informed.

I have not worried too much over this failure because a trust in providence concerning the plan has dove-tailed with a perception that the course of events would steadily reduce other policies to futility. I believe that now to be the case especially after the recent hardening of political leadership against unilateral nuclear disarmament. Hence this further effort.

Christian pacifism, as a meeting of the

world's bitter need for ending war before the nuclear explosion, has two severe limitations on its present strategy.

First, the personal pacifist decision is typically Protestant in character. Hence Roman Catholicism, which is the greater part of Christendom, is with only very feeble exceptions closed to such a technique.

Secondly, by failing to present itself as organic to the Church's integrity and very existence, and by proceeding only on a method of personal conversions to pacifist principle, it fails to enlist the sympathetic co-operation of non-pacifist Christians who are nevertheless opposed to war, and these of course form the bulk of Christendom. To move this mass of humanity, which is nevertheless ripe for movement, requires a new technique of approach.

The Pax Christi Plan has a real chance of transcending the first limitation, it already possesses some 100 or so Roman Catholic members, and it has had also proved success in securing the membership of non-pacifist Christians. It is a plan capable of healing the breach over pacifism within the churches because it approaches the war problem from the necessity of Church unity; a unity of love, not of theology or organisation. It by-passes in this way the theoretical pacifist issue by action directed to the prevention of war.

Non-Christians too

There is nothing, however, in the plan to prevent pacifists in their thousands from acting as the vanguard for the implementation of this plan without which they cannot reach their own goal in time to prevent a war which will defeat them for another millennium at least.

Cannot there be some new thinking about Christian pacifist strategy? I am willing to meet any body of Christians, official or otherwise, on this supremely urgent matter. One little point to close with, if any non-Christian will join in the operation of the plan, he will, so far as I am concerned, be a good enough Christian for the time being.

EINSTEIN TALKS ABOUT DECEMBER 10

ON December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting that year in Paris, adopted and proclaimed the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction."

The Declaration is a statement of objectives. It is not a treaty and involves no legal obligation. To celebrate its adoption, the General Assembly in 1950 asked that in future years December 10 be set aside as Human Rights Day by governments and interested organisations and that reports on

these celebrations be made to the Secretary-General by governments.

Professor Einstein, speaking on the UN and human rights, said in 1951:

"In itself, the fact that international problems are brought up and discussed in the broad light of day favours the peaceful solution to conflicts. The existence of a supra-national platform of discussion

is apt to accustom the peoples gradually to the idea that national interests must be safeguarded by negotiation and not by brute force.

"This psychological or educational effect I regard as the United Nations' most valuable feature. A world federation presupposes a new kind of loyalty on the part of man, a sense of responsibility that does not stop short at national boundaries. To be truly effective, such loyalty must embrace more than purely political issues. Understanding among different cultural groups, mutual economic and cultural aid are the necessary additions.

"Only by such endeavour will the feeling of confidence be established that was lost owing to the psychological effect of the wars and sapped by the narrow philosophy of militarism and power politics.

★ ON PAGE SEVEN

A BALANCE SHEET OF HUMAN RIGHTS, 1957-58

The forward steps

1. The condemnation by an Assembly vote of 60 to 10 with 5 abstentions of the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolt of 1956, and the suppression of the liberties of the Hungarian people.
2. The appointment of a good offices committee to explore solution of the status of South West Africa, which the Union of South Africa has refused to bring under the trusteeship system, consenting now at last to discuss the issue.
3. The first UN supervised election in a trust territory, French Togoland, successfully and fairly conducted.
4. The repeated Assembly resolutions calling on States administering trust territories to fix dates on the road to independence or self-government, and urging progress toward self-determination of all subject peoples.
5. The action of the Human Rights Com-

mission in appointing a committee to explore means of using the thousands of complaints of violations of human rights, now buried in the files.

6. The five-year extension of the authority of the High Commissioner for Refugees to resettle the European refugees from Iron Curtain countries.
7. Encouragement by the Economic and Social Council of a second conference of non-governmental organisations on discrimination.

The backward steps

1. The failure of the Assembly to deal with the issues of self-determination in Algeria and Cyprus.
2. The refusal of the Assembly to take effective action in the disturbed conditions in the French Cameroons trust territory.
3. The failure by two votes in the Assembly of a resolution which authorised an in-

quiry into the obligations of member States to report their non-self-governing territories.

4. The lack of any decisive action to advance the human rights covenants, bogged down for several years in detailed drafting.
5. The failure of the Human Rights Commission to deal with the problem of international freedom of information, and the discontinuance of the special committee considering it.

Issues facing impasse

1. The resettlement or repatriation of almost a million Arab refugees from Palestine, supported since 1948 by UN member States.
2. The refusal of the Union of South Africa to heed UN resolutions on racial segregation of all non-Europeans, including Indians and Pakistanis covered by treaty.

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DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, December 5
HARROGATE: 7.45 p.m. Connaught Rooms, Station Parade. Sir Herbert Read, Alex Horsley, Prof. S. C. Harland, F.R.S. CND.
HOUNSLOW: 8 p.m. Town Hall, Treaty Rd. Canon Collins, Mrs. M. Curwen, Dr. Nicolas Malleson. Chair: Mayor of Heston & Isleworth. Film. CND.
LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd., Wallace Hancock "The Society of Friends." Walthamstow Peace Council.
LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.
NEWMARKET: 8 p.m. Congregational Rooms, High St. Damaris Parker-Rhodes, John Weston-Wells, Dr. Peter Astbury. CND.

Saturday, December 6
ALTON: 5 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Play Reading, "The Lady's not for Burning." Young Peacekeepers.
LEEDS: 3.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley Park. Discussion on Romans, Chapter 13. All friends welcome. APF.

Sunday, December 7
EWELL: 3 p.m. 94 Park Ave., East. Allen Skinner. "After the Cold War?" PPU Surrey Area.

Monday, December 8
SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms Westgate, PPU.
SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordinance Rd. Austin Underwood, "Campaigning for Nuclear Disarmament." All welcome. PPU.

Tuesday, December 9
KINGSBURY: 7.45 p.m. Baptist Ch. Hall, Slough Lane. Dr. Hugh Gordon, John Horner, Films. CND.

Wednesday, December 10
BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Institute, Frederick St. Rev. George E. Good (Sec. Belfast Methodist Peace Fellowship). "The American Scene." For.
BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute (Cafe). Stuart Morris. PPU.

LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m. Peace News Offices, 3 Blackstock Rd. Sybil Morrison, "Pacifism and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." PYAG.

Thursday, December 11
BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. Union Hall, Queen Sq. "Science for Peace? Science for War?" Nigel Calder. Film "World of Plenty." CND.
LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Friday, December 12
LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Universities & Left Review Library, Partisan Coffee House, 7 Carlisle St. Discussion on Algeria. Speaker from Movement for Colonial Freedom. LRF.
LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Saturday, December 13
BIRMINGHAM, 15: Beehive Bishopsgate St. W. Midlands Area. PPU Christmas Party. Pooled Tea, Adults 2s., Children 1s. Bring & Buy Stall. Film Show. Endsleigh Cards on Sale.

Monday, December 15
HEREFORD: 7.30 p.m. No. 1 Committee Room, Town Hall. Dr. E. W. Malcolmson, Rev. R. J. Billington, Mr. S. Beaumont, Peter Carter. Chair: E. J. Thurston. ORF CND.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appellate Tribunal.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. Refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Max Parker on Current Affairs. Central London PPU.

Wednesday, December 17
LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m. Peace News Offices, 3 Blackstock Rd. Francis Jude on the work of Friends Peace Committee. PYAG.

Thursday, December 18
LIVERPOOL: 8.15 p.m. Friends Mtg H., Hunter St. Discussion on "Education for Peace," led by Coun. Mrs. Wormald. Business Mtg. 7.45. PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.
LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS
LONDON: Weekend Workshops. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS
LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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THE NEW GROW - IT - YOURSELF MONTHLY has become Britain's top circulation gardening monthly because it shows you how to make nature do the work in a completely new system of gardening.

GROW YOUR OWN HEALTH. The essential portion of your diet including eggs and honey on the smallest plot for **One Hour's Work a Week**, and cut out vitamin pills, tonics and the irritation of minor illnesses.

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DON'T LET'S THROW STONES AT GHANA

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



DURING last week's debate in the House of Commons on Northern Rhodesia a Conservative Member argued that what has happened in Ghana shows that Britain is going too fast in the extension of self-government and independence to African peoples.

I always resent the patronage and arrogance of this type of speech. Who are we to say that other human beings shall not organise their lives as they will? I was not feeling well during the debate and did not attempt to speak, but the reference to Nkrumah's "Cromwellian rule" and his deportations angered me to interrupt. I am going to quote what I said because often in the heat of a debate one puts a point more incisively than in the cool of writing:

"The Hon. Gentleman is giving the illustration of Ghana. Is he not aware that nearly all the things of which he complains in Ghana have been simultaneously taking place in Colonies for which the British Government are responsible? Deportations without trial, detentions without trial, the crushing of oppositions—these are the feature of the British colonial system. When it happens in Ghana, all is denunciation. When it happens in British colonies all is support." I might have added as an example Northern Rhodesia itself, with its 53 trade union deportees from the copper-belt.

Nevertheless, this is not a complete answer. Two wrongs do not make a right. I have met the Opposition leaders in Ghana, and among some of them I found a violence of spirit which may well have found expression in a violence of action inviting emergency repression.

Ready for independence?

I can well believe that in Singapore, where a locally-elected Government acknowledges it is responsible for detentions and deportations, the provocation from Communists is dangerous. Admit this; but colonial administrations have given similar reasons for the repressions.

There is this difference. Colonial repression is practised generally against those who are claiming democratic rights. The limitation of freedom in self-governing countries is practised after democratic rights have been gained.

Recently these tendencies have gone disturbingly further. In a whole series of newly-independent countries military leaders have taken over the authority for government. They have not always been democratic countries.

Pakistan, for example, although the darling of the Western democracies, has not had an election since its independence was recognised 11 years ago. But Burma and the Sudan are more challenging to our thought. They were political democracies. Do the military coups mean that they were not ready for independence?

I submit that the fundamental case for independence remains. The basic principle is that every people has the right to work out its own destiny. Democracy in its ideal form cannot be achieved in a day or a decade. We have not attained it in Britain after 300 years of experience and experiment.

The newly-independent countries which embark on democracy have to outgrow historical circumstances, tribal rivalries, religious differences, the autocratic power of chiefs, their own economic and social exploitations, as well as to overcome deficiencies of human nature which are common to all of us, such as love of power and corruption.

The advance towards a democratic society cannot be imposed by an alien

occupation. It must grow from within a people.

We have been fortunate in Britain not to have suffered a foreign occupation since the Roman invasion of the first century. We had the incursion of a French monarchy but this hardly touched our community life. If in Britain we now enjoy wide democratic and personal liberties in an atmosphere of tolerance this is because we have had the opportunity as a people to work out our own salvation.

The freedom we now cherish has evolved only by a series of struggles from the days of the Magna Charta to the Chartists and the early trade unionists, more recently in the fight for women's political equality and social justice. We still have to go on to greater freedoms. We can do this because we govern ourselves.

The independent countries are repeating this story. The absence of foreign occupation is the condition. Our own colonial record is such that we have no right to cast any stone at them.

Struggle of peoples

This is in the realm of political philosophy, but immediate issues are claimant for attention. There is Northern Rhodesia, where the small minority of whites are to have two-thirds of the representation in the Parliament: another fatal step towards the racial conflict to which Central Africa seems doomed. There is Kenya, where the African request for a constitutional conference has been disastrously rejected.

There is Malta, where the majority-backed Labour Party, frustrated beyond endurance, is now demanding independence. There is Basutoland, challenging African subjection in South Africa by the claim for an elected Legislature. There is the vicious decision in Southern Rhodesia that the African three-mile record holder shall not compete against Gordon Pirie because of his colour; an attitude in the realm of sport which illustrates the prevailing white mentality.

In contrast with these issues which reflect racial inequalities, there is the supremely important news, of significance to West Africa and indeed to the whole of Africa, of the decision of Ghana and Guinea to adopt a common flag and to unite in economic development and external affairs. Here we see the beginning of a United States of West Africa. This step is an inspiring prelude to the Conference of all African peoples which is to meet in Accra at the end of this week.

All these are events in the greatest drama of this century: the struggle of peoples to fulfil their destiny as equals in human dignity and rights.

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Einstein ★ FROM PAGE SIX

No effective institution for the collective security of nations is possible without understanding and a measure of reciprocal confidence.

"Realising that healthy international relations can be created only among populations made up of individuals who themselves are healthy and enjoy a measure of independence, the United Nations elaborated a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

"The Declaration establishes a number of universally comprehensive standards that are designed to protect the individual, to prevent his being exploited economically, and to safeguard his development and the free pursuit of his activities within the social framework."

CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Important. All copy for classified and displayed advertisements, and diary notices, for insertion in the issue of December 25, must reach us by Thursday, December 18.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

GET AWAY FROM IT ALL—to Reculver Lodge, Beltinge, Kent (Horne Bay 750). Country and sea. Vegetarians catered for.

SWANAGE. Vegetarian guest house overlooking sea re-opening Easter. Home-made bread, cakes, salads. Own garden and farm produce. High standard catering. Children's playground. Brochure: Goldings, Waveney, Park Rd. Phone 2804.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340. Telkeas Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

PERSONAL

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

GOING ABROAD? Maintain, advocate and urge liberty of freedom to travel without vaccination, invoke Clause 83 International Sanitary Regulations. Enquire, and/or send donation, National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

VEGETARIAN PACIFIST; bachelor American, age 29, both merry and quiet-natured; with music, reading, travel, photography, among quite varied interests. Seeks to contact by correspondence or in person, in America or abroad: lady age 18 to 30, vegetarian or sympathetic, with view to marriage. Please answer in first instance with photo to Box 799. All letters replied to in confidence.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

YOUNG MAN, AMERICAN, 25, Vegetarian-Pacifist; good-natured and intelligent; desires correspondence with young lady of similar views, preferably in America, with view to marriage. Box 804.

LITERATURE

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly, 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

FOR SALE

BIRTHDAY SUBSCRIPTIONS: Solve the present problem by giving your friends a subscription to PEACE NEWS. Eight weeks' introductory postal subscription 2s. 6d. Birthday card 6d. extra. Subscription Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals, 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers) Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4. WARDEN REQUIRED to be responsible and give part time oversight to 4 aged persons, or couples, living in separate flats. Free modernised four-roomed cottage, with garden; small remuneration; would suit couple with/without children, were man working; Cranbrook, Kent, Box 803.

SITUATIONS WANTED

MALE CLERK, 27, seeks permanent full-time employment at modest salary for any worthy cause. Anything considered. Dodson, 219 Collier Row Lane, Romford.

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FOCUS ON GENEVA

AMERICAN PEACE WORKERS GET THIS CALL

In our Christmas No. next week

CHILDREN and constructive work for peace will feature prominently in the Christmas Number of Peace News. Danilo Dolci's work in poverty-stricken Sicily; Mary Osborn's creative venture in a Cotswold village; a new look at the problem of the Arab refugees in the Middle East by Mary Sime.

In a lighter vein Emrys Hughes, MP, contributes "The Woman in the Moon" and "Owlglass" adds his dash of sparkle to our festive number.

Reginald Reynolds and Dr. Homer Jack, Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris and Fenner Brockway will be among the other well-known names contributing to this enlarged 12-page issue.

Topped with the latest news of peace activities in all parts of the world, this will be an issue you will want your friends to see. Remember, you can order extra copies at 3s. a dozen post free for free distribution. Order today to avoid disappointment.

AT ROCKET BASE TO-MORROW



Picketing at North Pickenham. See "Action at Missile Base," page five.

AS the yellow and black posters, telling passers-by that this was Prisoners for Peace day, were carried round Foyle's Corner into Manette Street I was already on the stand.

I was explaining why, and in what way, we were honouring those who suffered now, and had suffered in the past, for refusing to take part in war, or preparation for war, when this question came. It is a question, put in different words and phrased in different ways that is asked at almost every open-air meeting where there are serious questions, and not merely professional heckling.

It is, admittedly, an entirely hypothetical one, since if any nation had reached a position where the majority of its population had committed themselves to refusal to take part in war, there would, obviously, have been a tremendous revolution in the whole motive of that nation's foreign policy, and the world would know that the swords were already turned back into ploughshares.

There would no longer be the provocation of an arms race; there would no longer be any attempt to "divide and rule," nor any intention to join in the struggle for balance of power; moreover no other

A CALL to Americans to "focus attention on the crucial decisions at Geneva and in support of the Golden Rule and Phoenix crews has been issued in the USA by the recently formed Committee for Non-Violent Action.

They make the following suggestions for action:

1. Visit Congressmen at their homes to share with them concerns about Geneva.
2. Organise walks of groups to Congressmen, Senators, Governors, Mayors, or other officials. Ask them to make proclamations on necessity of stopping tests. Be sure to notify press, radio and TV of all contemplated action, tying it in with trip to Geneva and statement which crew will send back, which we hope will get nation-wide publicity.
3. Join with others in a vigil during the period following November 20. Some may be led to fast for a day or several days.
4. Write to newspapers, retelling story of Golden Rule and Phoenix and why the new action.

The new Committee is the outcome of the reorganisation of "Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons" which sponsored the voyage of the Golden Rule to the Pacific H-bomb testing area.

Non-violent training

The new Committee has the direct sponsorship of three big American peace organisations, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

"We are beginning organised action against nuclear missile bases," A. J. Muste announced recently. This is in addition to the sending of the Golden Rule and Phoenix crews to Europe. The two projects are estimated to require \$8,000 (£3,000 approx.) in the initial stage.

"The response to the appeal for the voyage of the Golden Rule was magnificent," A. J. Muste reports. "The books have been closed on that stirring project with all bills paid."

The training of volunteers for non-violent resistance is being started by the American FOR. The first Training Session is from Dec. 26-30.



Bert Bigelow speaking on the stand of the Pacifist Youth Action Group in Hyde Park last Sunday. With him are Jim Peck, Niichi Mikami, George Willoughby and Mrs. Reynolds.

The "Golden Rule" and "Phoenix" crew members were televised by news-reel men when they arrived at London airport last Saturday.

They left for Paris on Monday after being interviewed by the B.B.C. and the Press.

"Our purpose in coming to Europe," Albert Bigelow told Peace News, "is to visit friends of like mind in England and France and maybe Germany, and share our common purpose, and then go to Geneva to visit the delegates there."

"I think that people feel unclean—dirty—and guilty about this frightful business that our governments are unfortunately engaged in."

"This conference, of course, is on the solid ground of the practical agreement that the scientists came to last summer: that inspection is possible, that techniques are available, and that all we need now is to get over this diplomatic dance of death and there's the agreement."

"Let's hope that this feeling for good, for decency and for the best in us, and what it is to be a human being will prevail

at Geneva. It's this that we hope to encourage and support if we can. It's there in these men, of course, but our point is really to make it rise up."

Sentenced to death in Algeria

An Algerian "pick-and-shovel peace-maker," Ali Moulai, has been sentenced to death after being accused of implication in a bomb incident in Algeria. An appeal has been dismissed.

A member of Service Civil International, he served with a flood relief team at Zierikzee in Holland in the autumn of 1953.

William Evans, of 14 Friends Road, Croydon, is trying to get in touch with all who worked with Moulai then. He wishes to receive their testimony as to Moulai's character and to forward it to Paris in an attempt to secure a reprieve. Information should be sent to the Croydon address by Dec. 10.

By Sybil Morrison

PRISONERS FOR PEACE

If everyone did the same as these young men who are in prison because of their conscientious objection to killing their fellow men, and then an aggressive nation attacked us we should just be invaded and lose our freedom and live the rest of our lives under a dictatorship. Surely it's better and braver to fight?— Question in Manette Street, November 29, 1958.

nation would fear a disarmed nation, and the very fact of total disarmament would be a very strong moral deterrent against attack. Even the most blatant militarists have to find an excuse.

The question contains in it, as it always does, the imaginary consequence of disarmament, but a real conscientious objection to war must, naturally, discount the consequence. If it is agreed that war is an evil then plainly the answer to that evil is to remove it, and the immediate consequences are of secondary importance.

The majority however do not accept the possible consequences as secondary; it is insisted that they must be taken fully into consideration since it may be necessary to choose war as a lesser evil.

In fact "the lesser evil" and "the just

war" are the most firmly entrenched convictions even among people who genuinely sympathise with the pacifist case; it is the habit of war, the ingrained belief in it as a means of defence, that is the greatest obstacle in the way of victory for total peace.

There was some admiration, and even understanding, expressed on Saturday for those who rotted in prison rather than go to war, but mainly the argument was that it was better to die, and even indeed to kill, than to live under a Communist regime.

No one seems to notice that in the Soviet Union over 200,000,000 people have apparently preferred to live under that regime than commit suicide, and have even been prepared to make considerable sacrifices to

keep out the German invader.

Naturally, British people with their long liberal tradition of freedom and democratic rights of minorities, are appalled at the whole conception of a Police State, and rightly so, but the idea that this freedom can be preserved by a war with the Soviet Union is a mere debating point and cannot stand up to rational examination.

If there were to be a third world war there can be no doubt that nuclear weapons would be used even if they had been abolished previously, and the chances of the survivors, if there were any, living under anything but a dictatorship are too remote to require serious consideration.

In any case it is not a question simply of death or survival; it is a question of mutilation and disease, of radio-active contamination, and radiation sickness; it is a question of not only suffering this, but inflicting it.

There is no doubt that it is right to repudiate this evil and wrong not to, and so the courageous example of hundreds of young men in prison is the right course and the only one. Wars will cease when men and women refuse to fight.

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